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A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Poison of Deficits

LAWRENCE STAFFORD

In Praise of Sane Readers

ROBERT RAYNOLDS

Do the British Wish They Hadn't?

RODNEY GILBERT

Articles and Reviews by ..... WILLMOORE KENDALL
WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR. · JAMES BURNHAM · ANTHONY LEJEUNE
L. BRENT BOZELL · SAM M. JONES · PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

For the Record

The pressure for greater contact with the Soviet satellites continues. The Department of Commerce has announced that, for the first time this year, the United States will participate in Poland's trade fair at Poznan; and Secretary Benson has urged that restrictions be lifted on farm trade between the U. S. and Communist countries.

Senator Russell, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, is up in arms over Mr. Dulles' suggestion that foreign military aid be made a permanent part of the U.S. defense budget. Russell opposes any long-range program of military aid to other nations.... Among the items in the proposed $228 million State Department budget for fiscal 1958, is $30 million to be used for "international educational exchanges." Under the exchange program, 20 Yugoslav Titoist leaders and specialists are to be brought to this country.... Democratic Senate Leader Lyndon Johnson has joined in the battle to end "foreign giveaways."

Congressional leaders don't believe there is a chance that Congress will approve U.S. membership in the multi-nation Organization for Trade Cooperation despite tremendous and direct White House pressure.... Chester Bowles now sees danger in U.S. arms aid to Pakistan because, says Bowles, by giving arms to Pakistan the United States is in effect promoting an arms race with India and Afghanistan.

The McClellan Committee has received nearly 20,000 letters from disgruntled union members.... The Teamsters Union was dealt another severe blow recently when an Interstate Commerce Commission examiner ruled that a trucking company refusing to handle a cargo which a union considers "hot" is not entitled to a common carrier permit. The Teamsters, in fighting non-union companies, have leaned heavily on the so-called "hot cargo" clause in contracts with carriers.

Senator Hubert Humphrey and Representative James Roosevelt are co-sponsors of a bill which will make eligible for federal-state public assistance certain categories of indigent persons even if they have wealthy relatives. The bill would bar states from forcing the relatives to shoulder the responsibility of caring for such persons.

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The WEEK

● If you happen to live in Eastern Missouri, and you happen to have a question about your income tax; and you happen to phone the St. Louis Internal Revenue Office; and the secretary who answers happens to repeat your name correctly with a rising inflection on the last syllable—well, then you are a Very Important Person, Eastern Missouri style. Yes, the secretaries in the St. Louis Internal Revenue Office have just completed a course in tax-collecting etiquette and that's the way they've been told to address VIP's. We suppose you might call this courteous approach to taxation "subtracting insult from injury."

● *The Budget Merry-Go-Round* (An Old Farce in Many Scenes): Synopsis. Congress to President: "Your budget is too high!" President to Congress: "Agreed. Go ahead and cut it." Congress to President: "Fine. We'll cut x millions from Commerce, y millions from Interior, z millions from foreign aid, and . . ." President's Cabinet to Congress: "Stop at once, you scoundrels! What are you trying to do, ruin the country? If Post Office is cut a penny, we won't deliver your mail. If you don't give Interior every dollar it asks, we'll close your parks. If Defense doesn't get every nickel, we'll disband your army. If you don't dish out foreign aid, we'll send you to Siberia . . . Now go back and vote like the obedient puppets Congressmen ought to be in a well-regulated Democracy."

● President Eisenhower recently told a group of newspaper men that "foreign aid" should be renamed "mutual aid." This mutuality is indeed what the sensitive donees maintain: they are doing us a favor by taking our substance.

● Walter Reuther, boss of the United Automobile Workers, knows all about the good life. The good life is four days of work for five days of pay—and such, indeed, may be the 1958 UAW demands on Chrysler, Ford and General Motors. What with automation and all, we don't say that the Big Three of the automobile manufacturing business won't eventually be able to give Mr. Reuther what he wants. But if this isn't the handwriting on the wall for such little fellows as Studebaker and American Motors, we miss our guess. As for its effect on industries unable to afford the labor-hour savings which large-scale automation makes possible, that could be horrifying. Either the prices of the products of these industries would go up in a vast inflationary spiral; or the country would be paralyzed by an endless round of strikes. There is, of course, a better vision of the good life: let the savings which result from automation be passed back to everybody in the form of lower prices for cars. That would mean a gain in real wages for the auto workers—and incidentally for everybody else—without disrupting either the wage scale or the finances of the whole blooming U.S.

● Senator Joe McCarthy has sent Mr. Walter Reuther a wire from which we quote this pertinent observation: "While I strongly disapprove of Dave Beck's use of the Fifth Amendment, I think the country is entitled to an explanation as to why you trumpet, with righteous indignation, your horror at Beck invoking the Fifth Amendment when you have never before given the slightest hint of a similar revulsion to Fifth Amendment-Communists." The answer is, of course, that Mr. Reuther is skillfully juggling not a double but a triple standard: one for Communists, one for anti-Communists like Joe McCarthy, and one for Mr. Meany who, Reuther so fervently hopes, will be fatally struck by the Beck hemorrhage.

● Curiouser and curiouser! Harry Bridges, leader of the Pacific longshoremen, emerged the other day as a labor-baiter! He twitted Dave Beck of the Teamsters for needing $400,000 or $500,000 "for a rainy day," waxed sarcastic about Teamster Frank Brewster's passion for the race tracks, and remarked that George Meany of the AFL "knows where a lot of bodies are buried." Having thus set 'em up for Senator McClellan, Mr. Bridges did a quick double-take and came out *against* congressional investigations! "The Senators," he said, "will not be satisfied with a graveyard in which there stands only one headstone." Could Mr. Bridges have put the need for an investigation into the longshoremen's domination of Hawaii any more succinctly?

● Come May 9, the Czechs will be voting in a country-wide election. Shaken by the surge for freedom in Poland and Hungary, the Communists will, of course, permit a multi-slate list of candi- —whoa, signals off! Shaken by nothing, the Communists will present the usual Single List. And the voters will take it, or else.

● Writing in the *New York Times* about the triumphant return of virtually all the old-time Hungarian Stalinists to Budapest, correspondent John MacCormac surmises that Premier Janos Kadar feels constrained to accept support where he can find it. This *faute de mieux* explanation makes it seem that Kadar is welcoming his former enemies (he was once

imprisoned and tortured by a Stalinist minister, Matyas Rakosi) for reasons of mere expediency. But it was Lenin who said that revolution was the business of tried-and-true professionals: they can always be counted on to come back. In this light it is Kadar himself who is the "expedient" one. The Stalinists will outlast him.

● In blithe disregard of collectivist and Liberal sensibility, the Austrian government has started to set its economic clock back a couple of generations. It has just sold to individual investors, by public subscription, 40 per cent of the common stock of the previously 100 per cent state-owned commercial banks that dominate the Austrian financial system. So that they would be within reach of every pocketbook, the shares were divided into low denominations and could be purchased on an installment plan. So enthusiastic was the popular response that the government plans a similar distribution of stock in other enterprises now state-owned, in particular the electric utility plants.

The Bodysnatchers

We have photographed the editors of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*—the heavy artillery of the Establishment in such operations—in some pretty gross efforts to discredit the Senate Committee on Internal Security. But we have not seen anything worse, and pray that we never shall, than their most recent effort, which has been to put on the shoulders of a distinguished and conscientious public servant, Mr. Robert Morris, Chief Counsel of the Committee, the blame for the suicide of Canada's Ambassador to Egypt, Dr. Herbert Norman.

Here are the facts of the matter. But first let us pause to get the proper perspective.

The Senate of the United States has set up a Committee whose mandate is to see that the Executive observes effective standards of internal security. Specifically, the Committee attempts, by making periodic investigations and checks, to guard against a relapse into the kind of sentimentality and torpor that made the State Department, in the early postwar years, a haven for enemies of the Republic. There being no other way to investigate than to investigate people, it is people—individual human beings—who become involved in the investigations.

One such was Mr. John Emmerson who serves as American Consul in Beirut. The dossier on Emmerson is, as so often happens in security investigations, primarily circumstantial. One of the circumstances the Committee saw fit to explore was the long personal association between Mr. Emmerson and Dr. Norman.

A witness of unchallenged probity (a professor at Columbia University) had testified that he had known Norman to be a Communist while at Columbia, years ago. At least one other person claimed to have personal knowledge to the same effect. And then there were other data that tended to raise questions of a serious kind about Dr. Norman.

In interrogating Mr. Emmerson, the Committee asked him whether he was aware of the details of the questions that have, over the years, been raised about Dr. Norman's political leanings. Following the normal practice, the Committee made public the transcript of its investigation of Mr. Emmerson—though only after checking with a security officer of the State Department to make certain that none of the testimony concerning Dr. Norman would interfere with public policy.

The publication of the transcript elicited heated denunciations from Canada's volatile Foreign Minister, Mr. Lester Pearson, who, in the course of telling the Senate of the United States to mind its own business, ended up telling the Senate of the United States how to conduct its own business.

And a week later, Dr. Norman committed suicide.

We contend:

1. There is no presumption whatever of a causal relation between the publication of the Committee's transcript and the suicide of Dr. Norman. The charges against him had been publicly ventilated in 1951. Since then the Government of Canada had several times reaffirmed its confidence in him. Dr. Norman was not due to be inconvenienced by a transcript of a hearing of a U.S. Senate investigating committee, let alone driven to suicide because of it.

2. The staff of the Senate Committee acted responsibly in publishing the transcript. A Senate committee is not expected to conduct its operations behind closed doors. It is public opinion that makes effective much of the work of congressional committees. Nowhere is this more clear than in the field of security, where there is a long record of Executive indifference until public opinion zeroed in on internal security.

3. The questions asked Mr. Emmerson bearing on his relationship with Dr. Norman were altogether relevant, and the reintroduction into the record of the material that reflected adversely upon Dr. Norman was necessary if the questioning was to be in any way intelligible.

4. The assault upon the Committee by so important a segment of the American press, and the failure by responsible members of the community—including members of the Senate itself—to reply to that assault, combine to make a picture horrible to behold.

The ideologues of the Left are not so overcome by grief at the tragedy of Dr. Norman as to be insensible

to the political potential of the event. To that end, between sobs—like the freshly bereaved widow who manages absentmindedly to ask where the will is—the *Washington Post* comments that "the cruel and tragic event to which these tactics seem to have led ought at least to lead the Senate of the United States to put an effective check upon the irresponsibility of its Internal Security Subcommittee."

If Dr. Norman's death (whoever wrote that is saying to himself) results in curtailing the activities of an anti-Communist congressional committee, then let's have some more suicides.

We've Asked for It

Britain's recent decision—made, ironically, by a Conservative cabinet—to cut the Empire's defenses in order to scrounge up funds for the Welfare State has official Washington aghast, and understandably so. But Mr. Dulles asked for it, and now that he's got it he can't very well complain. All the U.S. can do is to pay the bill in wider defense commitments of its own—and try to replace the lost British contributions to NATO with West German divisions.

To understand the whole melancholy business one must go back to the U.S. behavior in the Suez crisis. Britain, presumably despairing of getting anything out of Washington save talk, signalled its willingness to do something about Suez. Since Britain is dependent for its life on oil from the East, this part of the world was clearly one of its primary responsibilities. Mr. Dulles, however, didn't see it that way. Out of a phoney consideration for the UN Dulles, in effect, stalled the British attempt to act like a responsible power in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The lesson was not lost on Her Majesty's Conservative Government. Macmillan and his colleagues must have reasoned it this way: if the U.S. insists on running the world by itself, and if it has no intention of menacing Britain thereby, then why not let the U.S. take over both the responsibility and the bills incurred in exercising it?

For the British at home, this has certain pleasing tax effects which have already been expressed in the Thorneycroft budget. The U.S. has actually sweetened the pot by promising guided missiles for the home defenses of the British Isles. And the U.S. Congress has moved to let the United Kingdom postpone a billion in future debt payments on the 1945 loan.

Having shifted the burden of dealing with the Communist menace to the U.S., Britain can now sit back and let events take their course. Dr. Adenauer, of course, is claiming nuclear weapons for his own country—and without British divisions in NATO he will have to have them. Moreover, if NATO is to continue its usefulness as a shield against Russian attack, the Germans will have to put up more divisions of their own.

Britain's withdrawal of ground troops from the European Continent may have fatal effects on NATO morale. European neutralism may increase its virulence. The U.S. people may be thrown back into a "fortress America" psychology. If these things were to happen, the Russians would almost certainly move to take Western Europe by default. Or, lulled into thinking they had a sure thing, they would send their tanks hurtling into West Germany and France. Taking final fright, the United States would almost certainly be provoked at this point to the reprisal of atomic war.

Trying the Windows

For three years the giveaway specialists have been trying to get foreign aid put on a long-term basis. The motive is simple enough: with long-term commitments, the globureaucrats will be released from the control that Congress now exercises by voting each foreign aid appropriation for one year only.

Now the Administration has suddenly veered to a new tack under a new semantic flag. Addressing the Senate's special committee on foreign aid, Secretary Dulles has called for economic help to other nations "on a loan basis."

Offhand the idea might sound plausible and busi-

nesslike, as some of the Senators seem initially to have found it. We trust that they will have skeptical afterthoughts.

If the loans are economically justified, why should *government* have to advance them? There are plenty of bankers eager to make a profit by lending money. And if there are special currency or other problems that make the loans, though potentially sound, unsuitable for ordinary commercial houses, there is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Can it be that calling the transactions "loans" is only a subterfuge, and that they will be the same old giveaways in a disguise tailored to appease public and congressional opinion? Will it be Uncle Shylock once more if anyone even suggests that these "loans," like plain, ordinary loans, ought to be repaid? The suspicion hardens when we note Mr. Dulles stressing that the "loans" will offer *"long-term* development assistance"—that is, will be beyond congressional control once the scheme is approved. The Administration seems to be following the old rule: if you can't break in the door, try the windows.

No Light on the Dark

The drive to land Richard Nixon in the White House on or before January 20, 1961, was revved up another 500 RPM last week with publication of the Vice President's "Report on Africa." Mr. Nixon, or someone, evidently felt that three weeks of breakneck ceremonial visiting in a half dozen minor countries—which did *not* include Egypt, the Union of South Africa, Algeria, Rhodesia or the Belgian Congo—was sufficient background for a diagnosis of the ills of the world's least known continent and a prescription for their care and cure.

Such are the inevitable ways of mass society that the Vice President's name on a serious study might have been an effective device to direct our attention to Africa and to enlighten us about Africa's deepening problems. It is indeed true that Africa is becoming a more tense and critical arena, and the State Department seems to be realizing this fact a bit earlier in the game than in the preceding somewhat analogous instances of China and the Middle East. To the extent that Mr. Nixon's trip led to greater public concern with Africa it was all to the good.

But, by a little trick in the lighting, the primary focus of both the trip and the Report is on the Vice President, not on Africa. And for drafting the Report, Mr. Nixon's managers seem to have used a ghost writer trained rather in domestic public relations than in economics, history and strategy.

The intellectual level of the Report is about that of a publicity handout for a high school picnic. The serious problems of Africa—the deficiency in usual energy sources, the primitive barbarism of much of the population, the fanatic Islamic missionaries sent out from Cairo University, the Indian colonization of the East Coast, the lack of a native class able to administer modern nations, the peculiar medical difficulties, the economic inter-relations with Europe—such problems are not even mentioned.

What we get instead are banal platitudes about "dignity and equality in the family of nations," "enlightened leaders [who] compare most favorably with the great leaders of the world," "the future of the United States and the free world."

The platitudes are, however, just pegs on which to display the slick compliments of a Presidential candidate to this and that pressure group of voters in the home country. "We cannot talk equality to the peoples of Africa and Asia and practice inequality in the United States." "We assure . . . progress toward the elimination of discrimination in the United States." "I wish to pay tribute to the effective support that is being given by trade unions in the United States."

In short: as basis for a dynamic new foreign policy on Africa, we are offered a campaign broadside.

If They Who Rule the Land . . .

A reader calls to our attention a 150-year-old sonnet:

Another year! another deadly blow!
Another mighty empire overthrown!
And we are left, or shall be left, alone—
The last that dares to struggle with the foe.
'T is well!—from this day forward we shall know
That in ourselves our safety must be sought;
That by our own right-hands it must be wrought;
That we must stand unpropp'd, or be laid low.
O dastard! whom such foretaste doth not cheer!
We shall exult, if they who rule the land
Be men who hold its many blessings dear,
Wise, upright, valiant; not a venal band,
Who are to judge of danger which they fear,
And honour which they do not understand.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH
From *Monthly Literary Recreations* for August 1807

Go Nowhere, Young Man!

It was the late Justice Brandeis' contention that the forty-eight separate states of the union were properly to be regarded as laboratories in which differing conceptions of economic effectiveness and social justice could be tested with a minimum of danger to anybody. Accordingly he supported local

differentiation whenever the issue came before the Supreme Court.

Thus the liberal doctrine of yesterday. The new Eisenhower "liberalism," however, tends to see things the other way. In his speech to the men of the Advertising Council the President came out strongly against local differentiation in levels of welfare on the ground that if California, say, offers a better stake to people "we would have migrations in this country, with dislocations in industry . . . merely because in one state people would say we can get better help when misfortune, old age, or something of the kind strikes. . . ."

What is one to say of this in the light of traditional American mobility? For one thing, if competition between the states is to be leveled out by payments-in-aid by the federal government to all citizens on a share-and-share-alike basis, some pretty strange things are apt to happen. There would be no incentive for Connecticut, for example, to maintain the best mental institutions anywhere—for in doing so, the local citizens would be committed to paying for equal institutions for Mississippi. We can foresee a sort of competition in negation, in which California repeals its old age assistance legislation in order to collect from New York to take care of the local Townsendites. Carrying the philosophy of equalization into other fields of activity, Michigan would be forced by the federal government to pass a "right-to-work" law merely to keep non-union workers from migrating to Indiana, which already has right-to-work legislation. (Or maybe it would work the other way around, with Washington telling Indiana to make compulsory unionism legal.)

We make no precise predictions as to the fate of the U.S. under the Eisenhower equalization-of-states policy. All we say is that if the citizens of California or Connecticut are compelled by law to carry the inhabitants of the Ozark plateau or the Appalachian highlands on their backs, people will stop going to where they are wanted or needed, or where they can make the best sort of living. And that will be the end of the usefulness of the separate states, if not the end of America.

Our contributors: LAWRENCE STAFFORD ("The Poison of Deficits") is the Washington correspondent of *Banking* magazine. He is also news consultant for Standard and Poor's Corp. and a columnist on finance for the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*. . . . ROBERT RAYNOLDS ("In Praise of Sane Readers") is the author of several novels, of which *Brothers in the West* captured the Harper Prize and *The Sinner of St. Ambrose* was a Book of the Month Club selection. In odd moments he is also an engineer.

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

The Senate Stamps on its Dignity

It was not, all things considered, a week calculated to make life easy for defenders of the U.S. Senate. The low point in the Senate's performance came at week's end, in the aftermath of the Norman suicide [see editorial, p. 368]: after three days of unparalleled vilification of one of the Senate's most respected committees by a foreign government and by practically all of the U.S. press, not a single Senator who was not a member of the group under fire had raised his voice in defense of the Internal Security Subcommittee. But the Senate, plainly, was in no mood for heroics—as witness its action, a few days earlier, in confirming the promotion of Ralph Zwicker by a landslide vote.

The point about Zwicker is not, of course, that the U.S. military establishment will suffer perceptibly by virtue of the fact that he now wears two stars, instead of one. It is, rather, that any fair reading of the evidence impels the conclusion that Zwicker lied under oath to a congressional committee; that the Senate (or at least the Armed Forces Committee which recommended the confirmation) was fully aware of the evidence; that the Senate confirmed Zwicker after one of the most vigorous White House lobbying efforts Capitol Hill has seen for a long time.

Contrary to the public impression, the issue in the Zwicker case was not whether the General had behaved badly or well in the Peress affair of 1954, but whether he had, subsequently—in 1955—told the McClellan Committee the truth about his role in that affair.

The McClellan Committee had in its record a memorandum, dated January 24, 1954, describing a phone conversation on that day between Committee counsel George Anastos and Zwicker, in the course of which Zwicker had advised Anastos, in detail, of the derogatory information contained in Peress' security file. Assuming the accuracy of the memorandum, Zwicker was, of course, guilty of a clear breach (however well-intentioned) of Army security regulations. In this context, the McClellan Committee had asked him,

item by item, whether he had given Anastos the security data contained in the memorandum. Zwicker's answer to each question: "I did not."

The Committee had then called Anastos, and Miss Mary Morrill, a secretary who had monitored the phone conversation. And both had testified under oath as to the accuracy of the facts contained in the memorandum.

The McClellan Committee, thereupon, forwarded the transcript of its hearing to the Justice Department for possible perjury prosecution. It was not, of course, for the Committee to determine who had lied—Zwicker or Anastos and Morrill; but the consensus of the Committee and its staff was that Zwicker has falsified the facts. For Zwicker had had a motive for lying: to avoid a confession that he had broken security regulations. Anastos and Morrill had none.

For eighteen months, the Justice Department did nothing with the case—despite constant proddings by the McClellan Committee. Finally, last December—just before the announcement of Zwicker's promotion—it notified the McClellan Committee that because of "technical difficulties" there would be no perjury prosecution. (The "technical difficulties" were, presumably, that the law is unsettled as to whether a person monitoring a phone conversation qualifies as the second person necessary to sustain a perjury conviction.)

By the time the Zwicker confirmation came to a vote, every member of the Senate, this correspondent is informed, had been honored by a personal call from either a high Pentagon official or a member of the White House staff. The results: 70 ayes, 2 nays (McCarthy and Malone).

The Zwicker matter out of the way, the Senate turned to the next item on its agenda: a bill to extend the Agricultural Trade and Development Act, otherwise known as Public Law 480. Since it was enacted in 1954, P.L. 480 has provided effective machinery for disposing of U.S. surplus farm commodities abroad; it certainly would have been extended for another year, with only perfunctory debate, had it not been for a rider attached to the bill, at President Eisenhower's request, that would repeal the prohibition in the original act against barter agreements with Communist satellite nations. Senator Knowland, alert to the larger implications of the rider, moved quickly to strike it. "We are meeting," he warned, "in a preliminary skirmish, a basic question of foreign policy that will confront the Senate again and again in this session of Congress . . . though it may not be so clear today, [the issue] is whether we are now to embark upon a program of supporting the political and economic system of international Communism. . . ."

What is afoot, Knowland was saying, is a general campaign by the Administration to remove what remains of the free world's economic blockade against the Soviet empire. And evidence for the charge is just about everywhere you look. The State Department, for example, has made no attempt to deny reports that at the Bermuda Conference President Eisenhower indicated the U.S.'s willingness to go along with Britain's plans for expanding her trade in strategic materials with Communist China. For the Administration, the only question is whether to lift the China embargo legally by asking Congress to revise the Battle Act, or to circumvent it by the kind of administrative chicanery employed a couple of years ago by Harold Stassen & Co. in order to facilitate strategic trade between NATO countries and Eastern Europe.

Then, there is the recent Administration decision to offer $75,000,000 in direct U.S. aid to Gomulka's Poland. Note that in the case of Poland, the Administration was unwilling to risk a battle with Congress. Fifty of the 75 millions are slated to come from funds that, under present law, can be disposed of by the President at his discretion. The balance is to be obtained by a blatant circumvention of the law: the Export-Import Bank, which is forbidden to loan money to Communist countries, will advance $25,000,000 to Germany to buy U.S. wheat, on the understanding that Germany will then make the wheat available to Communist Poland.

The Administration is well aware, however, that before it can accomplish a basic revision of U.S. trade and aid policies, Congress will have to be won over. And in selecting the barter provision for the "preliminary skirmish" it chose its ground well. For one thing, it could count on a number of normally conservative Senators from the farm states being more interested in farm prices than in foreign policy. For another—should some Senators feel obliged to display their anti-Communist credentials before voting for the bill—it had prepared a fascinating argument showing that the present barter prohibition has actually *helped* the Soviet Union.

Just think, said Senator Aiken (who, as ranking Republican on the Agricultural Committee, was entitled to first crack at the argument): if the U.S. barter prohibition had not been in effect when Czechoslovakia made an arms-cotton deal with Egypt last year, the U.S. could have furnished *its* cotton to the Czechs, and Nasser would not have got Communist arms! (The point is, of course, unanswerable if one assumes that, other things being equal, Communist Czechoslovakia would prefer to trade off its surplus arms to the U.S. rather than to Egypt.) Finally, the Administration could rely on the generally held belief that there is nothing very strategic about a bushel of wheat. Why should we be unwilling, Senator Ellender asked, to make our agricultural commodities available to our impoverished "friends" behind the Iron Curtain?

Senator Knowland's answer: given the needs of the Communist empire, it is hard to imagine what might have *greater* strategic value than food. "If, as some persons contend," Knowland argues, "the Soviet Union is forced to send foodstuffs into the captive nations to prevent their populations from becoming too restless, we would be relieving the Soviet Union of that obligation if we were to repeal [the barter prohibition] . . . If, on the other hand, the Soviet Union is withdrawing foodstuffs from the captive nations, then, in effect, we would be letting the Soviet Union drain off foodstuffs . . . [while] we replenish the food stocks in the countries involved. That does not seem to be a logical performance. . . ."

But logic, evidently, is not everything. By a surprisingly comfortable margin (54-23), the Administration won the preliminary skirmish.

The Poison of Deficits

The President, says Mr. Stafford, is not only a tremendous spender. He also has a way of springing disagreeable and costly budgetary surprises

LAWRENCE STAFFORD

The American people have belatedly awakened to the fact that there is an ardent and successful big spender in the White House, and have indicated their concern in an unexpected deluge of letters to Capitol Hill. This is heartening, of course, to those who do not want to see our country slip into the fiscal morass of France or experience such a financial collapse as that of Germany after World War One.

The long overdue realization of the way Mr. Eisenhower is going in government financial ("fiscal") affairs may help; but the job of bringing government spending under control presents immense difficulties. It is so difficult, for instance, that the maximum achievement which it is realistically possible to expect from the present session of Congress is a modest beginning toward arresting the *rate* of growth of federal spending in future years. *There is no hope whatever of action which will reverse* the upward trend. The road to fiscal sanity has become so fantastically difficult because there has been no effective effort by federal Administrations since Roosevelt to stop feeding the American economy the poison of deficits.

After World War Two, total government expenditures dropped, but remained above prewar levels. Then they began to rise again. After the "armistice" in Korea, only major national security expenditures declined, not the general cost of government. Then national security spending began to rise again.

The myth that Eisenhower during his first term was for economy, was widely accepted. Yet from fiscal 1953 to 1955 Mr. Eisenhower did not deduct one dollar *net* from government expenses other than for national security. He did slash about $10 billion from major national security expenditures between the "armistice" in Korea and fiscal 1955. This was the low point in Eisenhower spending. Other expenses than those for security paused at $33 billion above fiscal 1953 before taking off to stratospheric levels.

Curiously, at that time the President plainly hinted in a budget message that he was cutting national security in order to spend more on the Welfare State. At the time he displayed an unexpected talent for doubletalk; those who wanted to believe he was an economizer did not get the hint.

The Economy Myth

The Eisenhower record reveals the awesome effort needed for a true job of economy. It is an integral part of the Eisenhower economy myth that he is "doing the best he can." Letters flooding Capitol Hill pinpoint his inadequacy.

It is a platitude that one's own subsidy or benefit is a necessity and the other man's an extravagance. From long and unhappy experience with the subject, members of Congress have come to play by the rule that votes for economy in House and Senate bring few votes in a senatorial or congressional election. On the other hand, refusal to vote a new farm benefit, a raise in pay for government employees, a flood-control or other public-works project, invites the fury of a pressure group whose members will vote in revenge against the offending legislator.

Eisenhower's lip service to a balanced budget is about as convincing as his status as a Republican (see Robert J. Donovan, *Eisenhower, the Inside Story*, Harper & Bros.). When public sentiment against government spending caused alarm, he ordered his Budget Bureau to review the plans with a view to reduction. But in his first press conference in March he specifically said he did not retreat from any of the spending objectives proposed in his Budget. Also, in effect, that foreign aid, like Caesar's wife, was above suspicion, and was none of Congress' damn business besides.

Eisenhower's Administration has added to the difficulty of working toward fiscal sanity, in these respects:

1. Vested interests in federal spending have had four more years to become entrenched, and generally to increase their claims on the Treasury.

2. Eisenhower has added new welfare benefits and undertakings of many kinds, some of them so apparently unimportant that they are largely unreported in the press. For instance, he has made the Farmers Home Administration (legal successor to Rex Tugwell's Resettlement Administration, with the same basic paternalistic philosophy as under Tugwell) an agency with enormous spending potentialities. In obtaining these minor "blessings" Eisenhower has used the technique of demanding an insignificant initial appropriation of $25 to $50 million, to get the project off the ground. (This does not refer to major items such as the extravagant road-building program.)

3. Finally, Eisenhower has definitely not attacked any important subsidy or spending program, with the exception of federally subsidized power.

The Eisenhower Administration has done nothing about the major vested spending interests—notwithstanding the accepted myth that in supporting "flexible" farm price supports it was "retrenching." In fact there was a range of about three percentage points between the support levels voluntarily ordered by the Republican Secretary of Agriculture, and the 90 per cent mandatory supports the Democrats in their turn made so much noise about.

The Elementary Fraud

This analysis, for reasons of space, does not scrutinize two of the more ominous aspects of federal finance. Briefly:

1. Trust funds: The government for years has been collecting billions more (social security taxes, etc.) than it has returned to the involuntary investors. Those "surpluses" have been "invested" in Treasury IOU's. In other words, the money is gone. The budget discloses that under this scheme the surplus of receipts over disbursements is gradually narrowing. In other words, the pay-off is coming up. The dissipated funds must be redeemed either by higher taxes, drastic economy in government spending, more borrowing, or letting the Bureau of Printing and Engraving go hog wild.

2. The contingent debt of the government: This is incurred when the government "goes on the notes" for tens of billions of dollars for housing mortgage insurance, ad infinitum. Even when insurance or other fees are collected, this money is "invested" in government bonds, representing money already spent!

In his latest Budget Eisenhower estimates subsidies to farmers at slightly less than $5 billion for fiscal 1958; but he has consistently underestimated such expenses from $1 to $3 billion; therefore it is safe to add at least a billion to his 1958 figure. The highest cost under Truman—in fiscal 1953—was about $3 billion. In all probability the rising cost of the "soil bank" will make total farm expenses under Eisenhower much more than $6 billion.

This farm subsidy program illuminates the problems of economy. There is no possible way to cut government expenses without liquidating the proliferating programs operated by the Executive Branch. (Reduction of the appropriation for any established federal program for a fiscal year almost invariably means a later deficiency appropriation which wipes out the "savings"!)

Hoover Commission recommendations can be helpful if, but only if, the national and congressional will is on the side of economy. Until the national *will* is so firm that pressure groups will toss their own precious subsidies into the economy pot, there will be no economy.

New Authority Asked

Most people think that "Congress cuts government expenses" when it appropriates less than the President asks. Mr. Eisenhower, however, asked for $73.3 billions of "new obligational authority" or new appropriations plus other ways of spending money, such as authority to make long-term commitments and contracts which must be made good by later appropriations.

Only part of the money Congress appropriates must be spent in the year for which it is appropriated. Hence the Treasury becomes, as it were, a vast spending reservoir from which money may be drawn in a period of reduced appropriations (rarely experienced). Under the proposed budget, Congress is expected to authorize almost $70 billion which the Executive Branch can spend from appropriations for 1957 and previous years, after the beginning of the new fiscal year, July 1. This is in addition to the $73.3 billion of new money allotments the President asks, applicable to 1958 and later years.

Hence it is substantively if not literally true that if Congress did not provide a thin dime of appropriations and spending authorizations applicable to fiscal 1958 and succeeding years, the government would still have authority to spend $70 billion.

At this writing the highest guess by responsible congressional leaders as to what might practicably be trimmed from Eisenhower's requests for $73.3 billion of new money is $3 billion. Privately, informed Congressmen do not expect the cuts to exceed $1 billion. And even if the maximum of $3 billion in cuts were achieved, that would not necessarily reduce spending in 1958. It might do so slightly in later years; for then the Executive would perforce use more aggressively the funds from the reservoir.

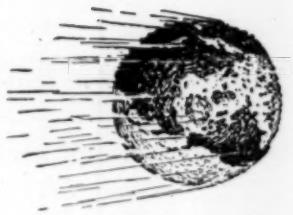
There is another technical factor not generally understood. Always backward about revealing candidly how far he is going on the spending side, Mr. Eisenhower notoriously underestimates spending. His first estimate for fiscal 1956 was more than $4 billion short of cost. After six months of the current (1957) fiscal year, he quietly (and the press scarcely noted) revised his spending estimate upward by $3 billion. There is sound reason to believe that this later estimate is still around $3 billion short of actual probabilities. Thus there is an aggregate of spending in sight which probably will exceed the official estimates by as much as $7 billion for the two-year period.

A $3 billion cut in Administration requests for money would of itself affect the high-spending outlook very little. Even if it could be assumed—which it cannot be—that Congress could literally reduce federal spending by $3 billion, the chances are that this would only reduce by about one-half the inevitable rise above the estimate. Mr. Eisenhower lets the people learn in easy, delayed stages how much he is actually spending.

All bets on economy are off if there is a business setback serious enough to frighten the Administration and Congress. Both parties are agreed that in the event of a "serious" business setback, Congress will at once cut taxes sharply and if possible increase spending even more. This would effectively kill the present timid drive for economy.

This is the dominant philosophy that regards government debt as an instrument for planners to play with. The simple fact is ignored that when someone lends money to the government, or puts money into a bank deposit or insurance or pension fund, that person surrenders temporarily the power to spend the money in the hope that he can use it later for an emergency, old age, or investment.

This organized fiscal irresponsibility has had repercussions. Savings bonds are being cashed a little more heavily. Treasury revenues are falling below estimates and expenditures are rising above them. And the Treasury is having to pay more than 3 per cent interest on ninety-day borrowings.



The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

The Changing Nature of War

The explosion of the first three atomic bombs provoked, among other things, a considerable though abortive theoretical debate. Were these nuclear (and comparable) devices merely a stage in a continuous series that had advanced from stones and arrows to tanks and TNT blockbusters? If so, their advent, though requiring tactical adjustment, had no great significance for the principles and doctrine of warfare.

Some argued, however, that the new devices marked a quantum jump that called for a radical revision of the entire theory of war.

At the time the argument got nowhere. The case for radical revision was put not rationally but sentimentally, expressing a dismay that was natural but not illuminating. In practice the routine estimate, which accorded best with the bureaucratic inertia of the military services, won out. The devices were taken over by existing institutions, without any basic change of either theory or structure.

But the atomic bombs were part of a technical breakthrough to a new energy-dimension. This has its own rapidly expanding consequences in spite of the failure of idea and institution to comprehend it. Moreover the breakthrough is correlated with drastic political and social shifts that have parallel disruptive effects on the established doctrine and practice of war. A still small but increasing number of analysts is making another try at stating a new war doctrine adequate to the new reality, and suggesting a military structure able to make efficient use of the new military potential.

The Paradox of Deterrence

Orthodox military doctrine, carried over from the nineteenth century, holds that the objective of warfare is to break the enemy's will to resist by destroying—whether through direct or indirect means—his organized armed force. The objective was so defined in our Civil War and in this century's first two world wars. Let us consider this doctrinal principle from the point of view of the present situation.

Our primary military effort now goes into the creation, support and maintenance of a "massive retaliatory force," the chief striking element of which is today the Strategic Air Command, and will in a few years be the ballistic missile setup. But the objective of the retaliatory force is not the breaking of the enemy's will by destroying his armed force. Its function is "deterrence"—to deter, precisely, the enemy's retaliatory force. The mission of a retaliatory force is not to fight, but to prevent all-out, "saturation" nuclear fighting.

It should be noted that this idea of "deterrent power" and "retaliatory force" is not a mere humanitarian or pacifist sentiment. It is imposed by the weapons development. Nuclear weapons systems give each side that possesses them the power to bring immense and perhaps paralyzing damage to the other, *no matter who first pulls the nuclear trigger.* You can hit the enemy only by including yourself in the target.

A recent science fiction novel, *Slave Ship*, though projected a couple of decades into the future, neatly displays the strategic relations that already exist. The two sides have their nuclear missiles mounted on satellite space platforms. Electronic mechanisms will launch the missiles automatically after the first big boom. "Massive retaliation" would take place even if the "defenders" were 100 per cent wiped out in the first attack.

The deterrent strategic systems are thus not really designed for actual fighting. They are like the gold in Fort Knox, or the counters in a delicate game. In the strategic tic-tac-toe, if correctly played, each cross exactly thwarts each circle. Victory could come only if the attention of one side wandered—or (to drop the image) if one side made a major and sudden technical breakthrough.

Little Wars and Irregular War

Actual fighting does take place, but in the form of "little wars"—Greece, Korea, Guatemala, Indochina, Morocco, Algeria. Such wars might be on a scale considerably bigger than those of the past twelve years, but all will be much short, geographically and technically, of all-out war.

Now the objective in these little wars is certainly not to break the enemy's will to resist. It is to counter one of his local moves; to inconvenience him, wear him down a bit, or gain a local advantage. Both sides are implicitly agreed *not* to step up the fighting beyond a certain level, even if that level is not exactly defined in advance.

General MacArthur's pronouncement in relation to the Korean fighting, "There is no substitute for victory," is a perfect expression of the orthodox, nineteenth-century doctrine. It was irrefutable, but under the circumstances quite possibly irrelevant. "Victory" was not truly at stake in Korea. There *could not be* a local victory. Victory could have been brought only by breaking the will of the ultimate enemy who was feeding the local action—of Moscow as well as Peiping, or of Washington and Detroit. Neither side was willing to try for that sort of victory.

Besides the "deterrent game" and the little wars, there is now in continuous operation what may be called "irregular war": guerrilla and paramilitary actions, terror and political warfare. Here too the objective is not, except perhaps in the very long run, the breaking of the enemy's will or the destruction of his armed force, but his gradual erosion.

Strategic deterrence, little wars, and irregular war; these three seem to be the military realities of the present. Our currently accepted ideas and our existing military structure are poorly designed for dealing with them. The gap will widen as missiles replace strategic bombers.

Foreign Trends . . . w.s.

That Polish Cardinal

Here are the facts about the Catholic Primate of Poland who, allegedly, is a close personal friend of Wladislaw Gomulka.

Stepan Cardinal Wyszynski, Archbishop of Gnesen and Warsaw, was born in 1901. In 1934, the young priest was appointed Professor of Theology at the Catholic University of Lublin. From the start, he established a certain notoriety as a "workers' priest." He was, in fact, the founder (in the thirties) of a "Christian Workers' University" in Poland—one of the first European centers of that strange aberration within European Catholicism which, after the last war, became a fellow-traveling ally of Communism. The journalistic spokesman of the French "workers' priest" movement, Mounier, ended as an officer of the "Popular Front." But Father Wyszynski, in Poland, was always far more cautious.

By 1939, Father Wyszynski had established firm contacts with the Polish Left, without violating his Church commitments. As a priest of the Lublin diocese he participated, under German occupation, in the local Polish underground and, in fact, was for a whole year in hiding. At the war's end, Lublin became the center of the impudent intrigue which, it will be remembered, led to the installation of the Lublin Communist government in 1945—in unmitigated violation of Stalin's Yalta arrangements with Churchill and Roosevelt.

Now the Vatican at first refused to believe that the U.S., at the peak of its armed power, would submit to Stalin's insolence. But, by the end of 1945, it became clear that the U.S. was determined to "coexist" with Communism. Consequently, the Vatican had to reconsider its plans for Eastern Europe. As there was to be no showdown with the spreading Communist imperialism, the Church had to secure and fortify its positions in the occupied territory on the assumption that the Communist regime would last for a long time. And, as always in the history of the Catholic Church, the Vatican undertook to explore the possibilities of a "realistic" *modus vivendi* with the secular Caesar.

To explore this under the most advantageous circumstances, Father Wyszynski, Lublin's "socialist" priest, in January 1949 was made Primate of Poland. The Vatican's frank and openly displayed intention was thus to demonstrate that the Vatican had gone as far as humanly possible in obtaining a *modus vivendi;* and that, therefore, any failure of the attempt would be the regime's sole responsibility.

Wyszynski, in other words, was made Primate of Poland because of his intimate contacts, not with Gomulka (who in 1949 was a very minor Party bureaucrat), but with "President" Bierut and the entire *Stalinist* team. And indeed, *in 1950* Cardinal Wyszynski signed the fateful pact with the *Stalinist* Polish government under which the Catholic Church of Poland accepted a commitment *to support the regime;* in exchange, Bierut's Communist government undertook to respect freedom of religion, freedom of the religious press and the Papal authority over the Polish Church. Wyszynski's pact with the Stalinists was incorporated, in 1952, in Article 70 of Poland's Communist constitution.

All that time, the Vatican retained a pointedly and coldly reserved attitude. On the one hand, the Pope knows much too much about Communism to have illusions that the Church can for long coexist with Satan. But, on the other hand, the Vatican must never allow the impression to spread that it did not try, to the utmost, to secure the Church's rock-bottom rights in a peaceful compromise with *any* regime. The Vatican, in short, has to disprove the omnipresent suspicion that its ideological clarity about Communism must result in "warmongering." Consequently, the Vatican permitted Cardinal Wyszynski to go to the end of the road.

In March 1951, Bierut sent Cardinal Wyszynski to Rome to obtain from the Vatican the official recognition of the rapacious Polish-German border line: the Pope, Wyszynski was to suggest in Bierut's name, should transform the provisional appointments within the Catholic hierarchy of the occupied German territory into definitive appointments. This, of course, the Vatican could not do. To make definitive appointments *before* an official peace treaty had been arranged between Poland and Germany would have been to prejudge the case against the German Republic (led by the Catholic stalwart, Dr. Adenauer). Wyszynski returned to Lublin with empty hands. The following year, when he was made Cardinal, he did not dare to go to Rome for the prescribed ceremony; for by then the Bierut regime, incensed by the Vatican's diplomatic correctness, had already started to violate the pact of 1950.

Bierut, in spite of his hearty official "friendship" with the Cardinal, had significantly prepared for substitute "Catholic" tools—the "Union of Patriotic Priests" and the "Pax" movement of "Catholic Progressives." The leader of both organizations was the former Count Piasecki (who, before the war, had been a leader of the Polish Fascist movement). Now an active agent of the Communist regime, Piasecki (called, by his cronies, "krol"—"King") was pushed into the foreground of the "anti-clerical battle." His assignment was to split the Polish Church.

A showdown was reached in September 1953. By then, the regime had organized a spectacular "treason" trial against Monsignor Czeslaw Kacmarek, Bishop of Kielce, who was indicted for espionage and criminal underground activity against the regime. The Bishop, visibly brainwashed, made all required "confessions" and was sentenced, on September 22, 1953, to twelve years in jail. The Vatican, far from being frightened, ordered its Polish representative, Cardinal Wyszynski, to file a formal protest. Whereupon Bierut ordered the detention of his "friend."

For almost three years the Cardinal was moved from one place of house arrest to another. There was never even a threat of a public trial, and the Cardinal was never interrogated.

(*Continued on p. 380*)

Do the British Wish They Hadn't?

RODNEY GILBERT

Judging by both news reports and editorial comment in the Taipei papers, everyone on the island of Formosa is right now speculating on the significance of the lively interest which the British are taking in Free China's political institutions, economy, military potential and the temper of the people. For a couple of months past the Taipei papers have been recording a new "first" in British attentions about once a week. A sympathetic British visitor is the first Member of Parliament to reach Formosa since Great Britain recognized Red China, on January 6, 1950. An elderly lady of distinction, known for good works in the British Isles, is the first officer of the lately organized (British) Friends of Free China Association to get to Taipei. A couple of Board of Trade experts turn up to check on the possibilities of direct trade relations (other than those through Hong Kong firms) and are the first official British visitors other than the semi-official consular officer who stamps a visa on the passport of a person wishing to go to Hong Kong, but who otherwise leads a studiously obscure life in the old Dutch fort on a hill above Tanshui.

A couple of months ago, the London *Economist* had a very competent but anonymous correspondent do what one might call a sneak survey of the Republic of China, as established on the island of Taiwan; and nothing could have been fairer than his report. Also, few friends of Free China would have expected one more favorable. One reads between the lines, indeed, that the fellow who did the job was himself surprised to find how healthy all institutions were in Free China. The only thing he could not take seriously was that "Fight Back to the Mainland" slogan, which is on every blank wall throughout Formosa, the Pescadores and the offshore islands. The possibility that it really means business is something to give the trade-hungry British the jitters. As a return on recognition of Red China the British have reaped an appalling crop of humiliation. Never have they eaten dirt in Asia as they have at the hands of the Mao regime. But if the Nationalists were to go back in support of a popular rising, or if a counterattack were to elicit the support of a popular rising, and the whole Communist setup were to collapse, what would be the attitude of a newly re-established republican government toward the British trader? So the *Economist's* surveyor treats the whole idea of a counter-attack as a "myth" in which no one has any faith but every Chinese on the island of Taiwan, a goodly percentage of the Americans in uniform there, and a few stargazers in Washington.

Enthusiasm for Free China

Actually the British have less to fear from such a turnover than their sense of guilt prompts them to imagine. The Chinese are among the least vindictive of this world's peoples. Those who have lived among them have often observed that they seem to take greater pleasure in composing their difficulties with an old enemy than in making a new friend. One of the latest British groups to arrive in Taipei, according to newspapers received from that city as this is being written, was a decidedly mixed party of nine persons who arrived from London by air on March 20. The group, ostensibly unofficial, was headed by Sir Alwyne Ogden, a retired diplomat who once had some years of service in prewar China. In his group was George Dallas, once Chairman of the British Labor Party, Admiral Sir Colin Cantlie (retired); and one Harry Martin, assistant editor of the *London Daily Express,* upon whom devolved the job of spokesman.

These good people were, of course, given every facility to see anything they wanted to see. They made a little tour and, on their return to Taipei, were received and entertained by President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. At all of their numerous parties, they gurgled enthusiasm for what they had found in Free China. George Dallas was quoted as saying that the British (Labor Party) recognition of Red China was a "grave mistake, which helped the Communists, but not the Chinese people." At a tea party given by Chinese who had studied in England, Mrs. Dallas said, "I hope to meet you all again on the Chinese mainland next time."

Though all such visits and reactions appear to be symptoms of a growing distrust in London of the wisdom of the recognition of Red China, there is no way of knowing how much official encouragement there is behind these seemingly independent visits by individuals and representatives of the Friends of Free China (mostly Old China Hands). Actually the most significant event was the arrival, with no fanfare, on the same day that Sir Alwyne Ogden's group blew noisily in, of the two representatives of the British Board of Trade, who got almost no publicity at all. They were Ronald Stuart Kinsey, chief of the Board's Overseas Division, and his assistant, John Henry Hall. They did no glad-handing and expected none. They gave Taiwan three days of intensive study, with the help of local authorities on commerce and finance, and then moved on, as quietly as they had come, in the direction of Japan. Little stir though they made, this team was the most important of all recent British explorations of Taiwan, because it was the first official British team to visit Free China in more than seven years.

Now what is the significance of all this interest in Free China during recent months? It may be nothing but an effort by Old China Hands to organize some opposition to British policy. On the other hand, the British Foreign Office may be encouraging these visits in an effort to determine what the Nationalist reaction would be to a change of policy—a withdrawal, perhaps, of British recognition from Mao. I am inclined to think (or maybe just hope) that this is coming, and that it will spell the end of the pernicious subterranean British pressure on us to recognize Red China.

from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

For Reasons of State

For several weeks there have been intimations to Washington correspondents—"friendly tips"—from State Department sources that Bryton Barron was about to be broken on the wheel. Mr. Barron, as most everyone knows, has been "guilty" of criticizing the Department of State, which to the State Department hierarchy is blasphemy, heresy and *lèse majesté*.

Mr. Barron's "trial" has now taken place—before the House subcommittee on Appropriations, John J. Rooney, of New York, Chairman. The other members of the subcommittee: Democrats, Preston of Georgia, Sikes of Florida, Magnuson of Washington; Republicans, Coudert of New York, Bow of Ohio and Clevenger of Ohio. The purview of the subcommittee was "Department of State, Justice and the Judiciary and related agencies appropriations." A report on "Hearings" bearing the slug line "Department of State, printed for the use of the Committee on Appropriations" was "released" on April 8. This document runs about one thousand pages. Very few people will read it in toto (neither the taxpayers who pay for it, nor the news writers who "boil it down"), but its contents become a part of the national record. Readers of these lines are requested to bear in mind the fact that none of the witnesses was sworn.

Mr. Barron first appears on page 258—in a dissertation by Mr. Rooney on "criticism by former employee." The villain is nameless, identified as "he." Mr. Rooney prods a witness: "Would you say he had a particular animus against all of his superiors?" Reply: "In general, sir; that's about it." Then: "Background of Employee's Separation from the Service" (page 260 *et seq.*).

"DR. NOBLE [Chief, Historical Division]: I believe he stated that he retired under pressure, sir.

"MR. ROONEY: Is that true?

"DR. NOBLE: That is correct, sir."

A Mr. Henderson, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, Department of State, now comes to the aid of the party: ". . . I could supplement just a little bit from my own personal knowledge . . . there was no doubt that he was not obeying his superiors properly . . . So I called him in and gave him a choice of standing trial or retiring in a few months . . . I advised him it would be better to retire . . .

"MR. ROONEY: Had the charges been withdrawn?

"MR. HENDERSON: I do not recall."

The Chair asked what the charges were. Mr. Henderson replied: "Insubordination, I believe, was the essence of the charges . . ."

On the delicate question of a 100-page omission on the Yalta story, Dr. Noble was sent in as a relief pitcher: "Of course it is a colossal misstatement of fact.

"MR. ROONEY: Has any material been left out?

"DR. NOBLE: No material, sir, has been left out from the conference itself; that is, the main conference period, except five or six statements . . . where someone would say something about a member of a cabinet or about a Frenchman, and there was one statement made by President Roosevelt.

"MR. ROONEY: Who made the decisions on the highest level recommending the deletions. . .?

"DR. NOBLE: Secretary Dulles was at the top and the decision was made under his authority. However, I am not sure that everyone went to him.

"MR. ROONEY: Did Under Secretary Bedell Smith pass on these things?

"DR. NOBLE: Only a few, sir.

"MR. ROONEY: The one with regard to President Roosevelt?

"DR. NOBLE: Yes, sir."

Dr. Noble then explained that Bedell Smith said the President's remarks should be deleted because they were not "valid history"!

Mr. Henderson then kicked from the State Department's one-yard line and the referee (Mr. Rooney) ruled "time out" for a discussion "off the record" (page 263).

Incredible as it may seem, practically all of the next 700 pages are devoted to other matters. On page 938, Mr. Barron gets his brief day in court. He might as well have tried to swim the Potomac wearing anchors for water-wings. State Department employees had said that he was "temperamental and inconsistent"; that he had a "spy-ring" of two or three favored employees; that he was "sadistic; pathological . . . a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde personality; a man of tremendous ego, conspiratorial, secretive, having a psychological makeup which makes it impossible for him to get along with other people, and other serious charges" (page 952). He was "*convicted*" of making twenty-eight allegations against the State Department which did not redound to the Department's credit. Both the allegations and the rebuttal (pages 937-980) are recommended as The Smear Book of the Year.

Mr. Barron cited eight counts against the State Department: criticisms of omission and commission. The Deparment's counterattack was a depreciation of Mr. Barron, not his criticism. Some of his allegations were conceded to be true, but what of it? Mr. Barron was, in effect, in contempt of the sacrosanct, including such architects of the future as Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dean Acheson, Harry Truman, Alger Hiss, *et al.*

If you are bored with ordinary "whodunits," ask your Congressman to get you a copy of these Hearings. It is dreary reading for hundreds of pages, but if you stick with it, you may find it surprisingly rewarding.

In an interview with Mr. Barron, as of this writing, I found him free from the fell clutches of the State Department, diligently adding to the record of commission and omission by broadcasts and written articles. If there is any moral to this commonplace Washington story, it is this: Freedom of speech is your constitutional right—exercise it at your peril.

In Praise of Sane Readers

A distinguished author and equally distinguished reader of books, Mr. Raynolds tells why he's cut down on his reading

ROBERT RAYNOLDS

I praise the sanity of an increasing number of mature persons who are not reading the new novels and who are not going to the new plays.

Authors and critics often claim the liberty of offering to the reader or playgoer any felt or imagined experience, however shocking. One writer recently defended modern authors in their right to use violence, perversion and debasement in their work, and pointed out the use of like materials by Marlowe, Webster and Shakespeare. I believe he missed the point. For the man or woman reading in the living room, for the man and woman sitting side by side in the theater, the point is not the materials exploited, but the spirit in which the materials are used.

Compare *Titus Adronicus* with *King Lear*. Shakespeare wrote some of *Titus* and all of *Lear*. Each of these plays contains sufficient violence and base human action to concur with the modern fashion. But while the sense of God at the heart of Titus Adronicus is feeble, morbid and villainous, the sense of God at the heart of King Lear is large, noble and awesome, much like the God of Aeschylus and of Job, the God who teaches wisdom through suffering. Those terms of modern praise—shocking, horrifying, soul-searing—belong to Titus Adronicus; while the sane catharsis of high tragedy belongs to King Lear.

There are three persons concerned in a work of fiction: the author, the reader and the god. The concern of the author is to offer his vision of human life, in which is, perforce, enshrined the god he adores. The concern of the reader is to find in the author's metaphor of our human life the intimation of a god of promise and fulfillment for his own life. What reader reads to be destroyed? Who goes to a play hoping his effort to live a good life will be corrupted?

Not only as one who has written novels and plays, but also as a reader of long experience and much meditation, I know when I read a novel or see a play what sort of god the author worships. And I know the whole effort of his work is to persuade me to kneel with him before his envisioned god. For what author writes, sincerely hoping *not* to be read and *not* to be believed? It is a plain fact of fiction, from Homer and Aeschylus (who in human terms are very great) to Thomas Mann and Tennessee Williams (who in human terms are very modern), that the author is offering his view of godhead to the reader to be believed in and lived by. In the succinct words of Coomaraswamy: "The hero of a work of art is always God."

The Small and Sour Gods

Now what sort of gods do I and other readers and playgoers find offered to us at the heart of modern novels and plays?

One could make a catalogue almost equal to the great satirical catalogue of Roman gods set down by Augustine in *The City Of God*. There were so many trivial gods for so many daily acts and passing passions that a man had no good God to enlighten his life. Rome rotted with boredom. Rome fell with sensual surfeit. Likewise we have with us now in our modern fiction the gods of boredom, of disgust, of murder, of sexual perversion and suicide. We have the god of social significance and the god of human insignificance. We have the god of Faustian willfulness, the dead god of Nietzsche, and the god of indifference to all morals. We have the faceless god of atheism.

Freud has taken the humane and religious concept of life offered by Sophocles and handed it over to modern fictioneers in the truncated form of a vision of parricide and incest. (Or, as Camus says of existentialism, the only philosophical question is suicide: the god of self-destruction.) Our critics praise the exquisite technical skill and artistry of an author who offers us new monsters to worship, some daring revelation of the latest debasement of manhood. The beholder's soul may be corrupted—*"but what magnificent theater!"*

But above all, and perhaps hardest to bear, is the lonely god of the isolate victim, the self-ennobled neurotic sufferer, cast out, put upon and ruined by all mankind, the world not having been made by and for him according to the singularity of his private passion. This perpetual adolescent (often gifted with a high skill in the use of words) is in perpetual revolution against the condition of man. Whether he be a noisy experimenter in the scabrous and the violent among the naked and the dead from here to eternity, or a he-man celebrating new nastiness of torture in Africa, or a delicate she swooning at the pear tree's glimmer, he worships a wretched god of self-pity and of self-pride, breeding anger, breeding murder, breeding despair, breeding death. Perhaps as demoralized, perhaps as murderous in the end, are the gods of Consensus, of Demos, of Mass-man, of Party, of the Collective, dedicating hero and reader to any crime that serves the ideology.

The novelist and the playwright cannot escape the fact that in the work they do they are engaged in a religious function. They are engaged in offering forth metaphors of life to teach the human heart the reasons that reason does not know. They are building a spiritual house for the reader to enter and dwell in; and especially in this day of intellectual and scientific scorn toward traditional and formal religion, each author

in each work is shaping a new image of God for the reader to believe in.

I praise all sane readers who do not believe in most of these gods of modern fiction, who refuse to worship at the shrines of the morbid and tawdry gods of perpetual neurosis, perversion and sensual shock; gods who are infected with the enfeebling violence of a libertine imagination.

What sort of people do authors, critics, publishers and play-producers think we are?

Let me characterize myself as a reader. I am a child of my parents, the husband of my wife, the father of my children. And now, by unbought grace, a grandfather. I am living a man's life in what Burke nobly called "the great chain of being." I will defend myself against the small and sour gods enshrined in modern novels and plays, that offer me wormhood in the gutter and violence in a dreary neurotic world of lust-disgust, among angry and predatory solitaries. I will not trade the great edifice of generations for a new shanty in the mire.

I know what it is to be a poor, lonely and bewildered author, with my own miseries, limitations, and with a foolish inspiration trivializing the god at the heart of my work with all the wounds of my own shortcoming. But I also know what it is, between works and in each work, to try for a healing accomplishment.

I do not see why modern authors cling, in a false pride in a false liberty, to the painful and neurotic worship of the miserable gods of an irresponsible imagination. My plea to them, as a reader, is to lift up their hearts to the high severity of sane spiritual labor, creating works of humane imagination, rich for the reader in tragedy, wonder and love, and quick to the very heart with a great and good sense of God. Then I and many another reader will read them well.

FOREIGN TRENDS

(*Continued from p. 376*)

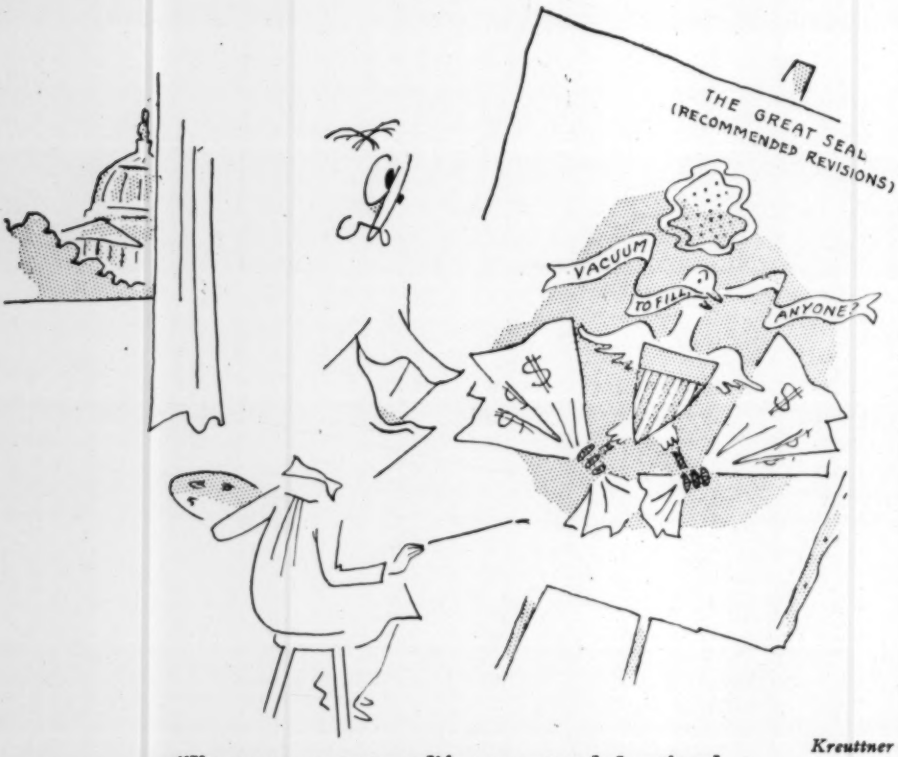
He spent the last phase of his "arrest" in the monastery of Siostki Nazaretanski. In early 1956, on Bierut's death, he was officially released. Bierut's immediate successor, the clumsy Ochab, was too immovably committed to "anti-clericalism" to renew the once friendly relations of the Polish Communist regime with the Cardinal. But in October 1956, when Gomulka obtained power in the Party and the government, the time had come to undo the clumsiness of the Bierut-Ochab faction.

It is by no means certain that Gomulka, to this day, has ever met the Cardinal in person. (The Communist emissaries who, last November, negotiated the armistice with Cardinal Wyszynski were Bienkowski, Director of the Warsaw National Library, and Kliszko, Vice Secretary of Justice.) The Cardinal was most certainly never Gomulka's "friend" (though, quite likely, he had been Bierut's "friend"). But, as in most other matters, Gomulka proved to be far more clever and facile in the application of Communist tactics than his predecessors: he immediately returned to the church policy the *Stalinist* regime had originally adopted (and adhered to until 1952). He returned to the Bierut-Wyszynski pact.

The Cardinal was of course compelled, as long as the Communist government promised to execute the provisions of the old pact, to stick to his own old obligations. Consequently, just as he had done in 1950 for the Stalinist Bierut, the Cardinal supported the incumbent regime of Gomulka in the elections of 1957. This is the most the Vatican would permit him to do—in 1957 as in 1950.

For the Cardinal though he suffers from pro-Socialist illusions, is no deliberate fellow traveler. And, though he stood at the cradle of Europe's "workers' priest" movement, he is no heretic. Finally, though the Vatican prudently keeps aloof from practical Polish Church policies, the Cardinal would never consciously disobey the Holy See.

As to the Papal offices, two factions face each other at the Vatican—the "appeasers," led by the Archbishop of Milano and former Papal Secretary of State, Batista Montini, and the hard anti-Communists, led by New York's Cardinal Spellman and the Italian Cardinals Canali and Ottaviani. Backed by the Montini group, Cardinal Wyszynski will try to the last to revive the *modus vivendi* he had obtained in 1950 with Poland's *Stalinists*. But he knows perfectly well that, in spite of Montini, the Vatican will never let him make common cause with Gomulka's Communist dictatorship over Catholic Poland.



Kreuttner

"You see, we must modify our outmoded national symbols. Remember, the world is watching us!"

Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Sailing in Broken Waters

Mr. Macmillan's Government, after starting out bravely with a good following breeze, has now run into squalls or at least arrived in what Belloc called "broken waters terrible to try."

The most distressing political phenomenon of the past year has been the very real surge of anti-American feeling in this country. This was partly a direct consequence of the Suez affair, partly a sudden release of emotions built up from envy, misunderstanding and a changing pattern of relationships. Whatever the cause of the breach, Mr. Macmillan knew that healing it was one of his first tasks. The Bermuda meeting was no doubt a long step in the right direction but there can never be a full *rapprochement* until the Middle East is cleared up. And at the moment Nasser is riding high.

Bleak though the international scene may be, its significance both for the Government and the country is probably less than that of the strikes which have been plaguing us these past few weeks. Despite noisy opposition from the more militant union leaders, the strikes themselves have been called off, or at least suspended until the Minister of Labor's Court of Inquiry gives a "satisfactory" judgment. This truce is inevitably hailed as a triumph of common sense by all the industrial appeasers who called for "negotiations" and "compromise" and "splitting the difference"; but not, I'm glad to say, by the *Economist* or the *Times*. What it really means is another surrender to the unions and another dose of inflation. The pattern of retreat was set as usual by the nationalized British Railways. As soon as the railwaymen were given a 5 per cent wage increase it became virtually impossible for the other employers to offer less. The unions are still asking more. The natural tendency of a court of inquiry is to name a figure half way between what the employers offer and what the unions demand. So it looks as if Britain is in for another general rise in wage costs of at least 7 per cent. Prices will go up, pensioners and people who live on fixed incomes will suffer, and soon we shall be faced with another round of wage claims.

A series of prolonged strikes would certainly have been damaging to Britain's economy, but they could scarcely have done as much damage as this new twist in the inflationary spiral. Not only will it be harder for British firms to sell the exports by which this country lives, but the already embattled pound will take another severe knock. Newspapers and politicians frequently tell us how much the value of the pound has dropped in the last five or six years: they sometimes remind us that the pound is now worth only a third of what it was worth in 1939: but very few people have long enough memories to realize that a 1957 pound is worth just two shillings and threepence in terms of 1913 currency. Inflation is a chronic disease, and checking it is surely one of the Government's prime duties. If Mr. Macmillan fails in this, nothing else is likely to save him: and, disguise it how he may, the Government and the country have suffered another defeat at the hands of the strikers.

As if these weren't troubles enough, the Cabinet has suddenly been split by the resignation of Lord Salisbury. Six months ago his name was hardly known outside political circles. His influence in the Conservative Party was enormous but he preferred to work behind the scenes. His photograph suddenly appeared on all the front pages in the days following Sir Anthony Eden's resignation. It was generally said that it was largely by his decision that Mr. Macmillan became Prime Minister.

This is the second time Lord Salisbury has resigned; the first was in 1938 as a protest against the policy of appeasement towards Hitler. His resignation now follows the Government's decision to release Archbishop Markarios without securing from him any real condemnation of terrorism in Cyprus. Lord Salisbury regards this not merely as imprudent but as a breach of faith with the Turks, a reversal of Britain's previously declared policy and an act of retreat likely to have very serious consequences far beyond Cyprus itself. A substantial number of Conservative Members of Parliament agree with him and many of those who approve of the Government's decision have been given considerable pause by the resignation on a matter of principle of one whose judgment they have respected for so long.

Mr. Macmillan picks his way confidently and delicately among the crises. Last week-end the newspapers were predicting fierce political conflict and the crash of falling Governments. On Monday, Mr. Macmillan stood up to give the House his report on the Bermuda meeting. Immediately all was calm. The strikes became an academic issue for economists. Protests that Britain had "sold out to America" became a vulgar stunt of the yellow press. By assuring the House that the name of Makarios was never mentioned at Bermuda, Mr. Macmillan managed to avoid mentioning the name of Salisbury.

This is a great gift, but it is no substitute for action, any more than pious platitudes about the Middle East are any substitute for a real American policy there. Loyal conservatives are beginning to be worried by what looks like a resurgence of "Butskellism," that policy of compromise and appeasement which sapped the Government's strength under Sir Anthony Eden and from which they hoped Mr. Macmillan would rescue them. He may do so still: the budget next week will provide a pointer. But there can be no denying the danger. Each new crisis and still more the manner of its settlement has been calculated to alienate another group of Conservative voters without winning over a comparable number from the Left. If this goes on, the Labor Party is sure of a sweeping victory at the next General Election: and the consequences of that could be very serious, not only for Britain but for her allies.

THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

HERE LIES THE EMPTY MIND

For my sins, I have read over one hundred protests against the action of the provost of Queens College denying to John Gates access to college buildings whence to put forward, in a program on Academic Freedom, the views of the Communist Party. Half those I read were written by student editors who, uniformly, have pronounced academic freedom dead on the corpse of Mr. Gates. The other half were by assorted professors and editorial writers of the great metropolitan press. They concurred: no John Gates, no academic freedom. A front-page editorial in the undergraduate newspaper, the *Crown*, speaks of the negation of "the ideal of the democratic process" and of the destruction of "the concept of intellectual freedom." "What has happened," a student orator proclaimed, "is the same thing as book burning" ("a thing which we all detest"). John Gates did his bit by terming the action, in a special interview with a *Crown* reporter, "akin to what Hitler did." And a solemn delegation of students hung a placard which read

HERE LIES THE EMPTY ROOM
IN WHICH JOHN GATES
WAS TO SPEAK
WE HERE COMMEMORATE
THE DEATH
OF
ACADEMIC FREEDOM
IN
THE SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK CITY

So it went. Now if I were the provost of Queens College I should be seriously disturbed by the demonstration of the students—and of the professors who rushed to support them. I should not be disturbed by the substance of their protest (it had no substance) but by the quality of it. For here was an appalling intellectual performance. The protests were almost all conventional, dull, lacking in any dialectical resource whatever. They were, in a word, empty. In that sense they did justice to the position they represented. The administrators of Queens ought to ponder that performance and ask whether they are in any way responsible for the intellectual disorder that these protests reflect. If so, administrative action far more serious than the mere banning of Communist speakers is in order.

Here, for example, is one of the crucial distinctions that has not been made. To refuse John Gates a lecture hall is not the equivalent of refusing students access to Marxist literature, or outlawing courses on Communism. No serious person approaches—or concludes—a study of Marxism or Communism by listening to a polemic from the managing editor of the *Daily Worker*. The latter experience is not intellectual in nature. It is human, and of the class of human experiences that is reprehensible and degrading. The students explicitly insist that their desire to hear John Gates is non-pedagogical. Their maturity, they are saying, is sufficient guarantee against their being influenced by Gates. They didn't plan to go, they say implicitly, in order to learn anything about Communism . . .

Why, then, *did* they want to hear John Gates? If their minds are made up on the subject of Communism beyond the possibility that they would be shaken by an evening's rhetoric—and let us rejoice at their assurance that such is their worldliness—then why are they listening to Gates? The answer is they wanted Gates because they wanted a sensation; an extra-intellectual sensation. They wanted a spectacle of a very special kind. They might as well listen in at a psychiatrist's examination of a man criminally insane, or attend a Black Mass, might they not? That they can say, as a *voyeur* might, "I *saw* a man debase himself. I saw a man despoil the truth, and practice his witchcraft . . . Sure, I always knew that kind of thing went on—I have read widely, and I have listened to my teachers. But today I *saw* it!"

Is this Empirical Verification? Or is it algolagnia?

And then, of course, the broader question. What should be our attitude toward Communists in the classroom, under a system of Academic Freedom? That question cannot be answered without asking the prior question, What is the purpose of education, in which academic freedom figures only procedurally (education, not academic freedom, being the important thing)? It is my view that so long as academic freedom takes the implied position that all ideas are equal, or that all ideas should, in the student's mind, start out equal, it is a dangerous and essentially antirational concept.

The justification of the academic life is to search out truths *in order to discover* truths. It is not the *quest* for truth that is important but the *discovery* and, thereafter, the transmission of truth. To justify education merely on the grounds that it seeks out (but cannot, by definition, find) the truth is to reduce education to an essentially frivolous exercise. Yet it is such an approach (the asymptotic approach to truth, Mr. Willmoore Kendall has adeptly called it) that is the approach of Liberal exponents of Academic Freedom. That is why they refuse in effect to come to any conclusions. That is why they are afraid to treat Communism as Error. That is why they are lost when one asks them the meaning of the famous educational dictum, "We shall seek the truth and endure the consequences." What truth? And what consequences?

We conservatives, I think, know. For we know that just as the educational experience of recorded civilization has yielded certain scientific conclusions, it has yielded certain conclusions in the realm of values. We are as certain that Communism errs as we are that the whole is equal to the sum of its parts. And we wonder at the anti-intellectualism of those who, in the name of intellect, show so little respect for the human mind that they cannot credit it with the power to come to any reliable conclusion.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Whose American Conscience?

WILLMOORE KENDALL

What this country needs, a friend of mine tells me who is in the process of filling the need, is a good conservative history of itself; and I propose, in my capacity as a professional cultist of the open mind, to read his book as soon as he can make it available. Meanwhile, however, I wish to record my skepticism about the enterprise, and say that I for one will settle for a *neutral* history of the United States—that is, one that would content itself with telling what happened. I should wish it written by a man of a certain competence, but above all a man who does not know or even think he knows the difference between right and wrong, and therefore *can't* sit in judgment upon the men and events he is writing about, and *can't* help inculcate upon still another generation of Americans our traditional unhealthy preoccupation with identifying the good guys and the bad guys with moralism, with spotting those events in our nation's past we should be proud of and those we should be ashamed of. (One advantage of such a history would be that the historian would be able to take cognizance of, perhaps even explain, that preoccupation, which has become the characteristic vice of American political discussion in general; and, by explaining it, enable us at long last to understand ourselves a little.)

Mr. Roger Burlingame's *The American Conscience* (Knopf, $6.75) is on neither of the counts I have mentioned that history of the United States I'll settle for: its author is *not* a man of a certain competence, not by a long sight; and he not only knows the difference between right and wrong, but knows—to judge from his performance in this book—little or nothing else. Least of all does he know how to pose a problem, identify the kind of research and analysis it calls for, and get on with the job, so that one real challenge with which he confronts the reader is that of finding out what it is he thinks he is doing, or, if you like, which of the many books that might plausibly be written under the title *The American Conscience* he thinks he is writing.

Sometimes he conceives "conscience" in straight lump-in-the-throat, feelings-of-guilt terms, and the history of the American conscience becomes a matter of identifying those crimes in the nation's past—importing slaves, for example, or persecuting witches, or swindling and selling firewater to and killing Indians—for which it has subsequently taken itself severely to task, and about which it has subsequently said it will try to do better in future.

Sometimes he equates conscience with public opinion on the moral aspects of public policy, and public opinion in turn with the moral attitudes on public policy that finally prevail; and then the history of the American conscience becomes an account of how we got around to such noble and forward-looking démarches as busting trusts and passing pure food laws and prohibiting corruption and replacing vigilantes with policemen.

Sometimes—but less often and a great deal less seriously than one might wish—the history of the American conscience is the history of how "the promises of rich, virgin land altered the concepts of sin and heaven"—that is, a history of religion in America.

And sometimes—most characteristically, I think, which brings me back to my main point—Mr. Burlingame pretty clearly equates the American conscience with his own, and we begin to grasp the true pattern of his book; it is an account of those episodes in our history which, on Heaven knows what theory of how things occur in History, had to happen in order to make possible a man with precisely Mr. Burlingame's notions of right and wrong. And Mr. Burlingame's moral attitudes on a whole series of problems—internal security, American responsibility for building a better world, peace and war, etc.—show just that ultimate degree of Establishment conformity that we have to expect in so handsomely printed a book.

"We are learning," he pontificates for example, "that war never really solves problems of conscience; on the contrary, it usually multiples them." Or again: "We discovered that we actually were the world's leader, that the tired, broken nations of Europe and Asia looked to us for salvation; and the realization terrified us [though not, of course, Mr. Burlingame] into paralysis."

And still again: "Franklin's opinion that actions were [*sic*] not bad because they had been forbidden by scripture but rather they had been forbidden because they were bad for us or commended because they were good for us gained acceptance some sevenscore years after he expressed it. Disquiet began to come to the public conscience because wealth seemed to rest on a foundation of poverty: that workers and servants were wickedly underpaid and driven; that all the 'sons of Martha,' sweating and hungering in the dark, were becoming a reproach to decent society. More and more, with better communications and better light, these evils were heard and seen, and action soon followed the brooding of the more sensitive listeners and watchers."

Except for the last, the one that equates the conscience of America

with that of the author, none of the several books Mr. Burlingame might have written could conceivably have been worth writing, and the last only because of the sentimental interest it will hold for his great-grandchildren, who like all great-grandchildren will finally get around to asking: "What kind of man was great-grandpa?"

Light on Muddied Waters

The American Fluoridation Experiment, by F. B. Exner, M. D. and G. L. Waldbott, M. D. Edited by James Rorty. 277 pp. New York: The Devin-Adair Company. $3.75

If this book did nothing more than provide opponents of fluoridation with sensible and well documented arguments against fluoridation of municipal water supplies, it would perform a signal service. But *The American Fluoridation Experiment* transcends the issue itself in the devastating indictment it draws against officials of the Public Health Service who have abandoned scientific objectivity in a crusading zeal to "put over" fluoridation on the American people. "It is the first time," writes James Rorty in the introduction, "that public health officials have deliberately falsified, distorted and suppressed evidence tending to impugn the safety of a public health measure." And Doctors Exner and Waldbott proceed to nail down that statement in lucid and scholarly fashion.

The Public Health Service, they reveal, officially approved the fluoridation of municipal water supplies before sufficient scientific data had been amassed to prove that it either was or was not effective, and before any real research on the long-range effects of the program had been undertaken. Having taken that position, it coldly dismissed any contrary evidence, tried to muzzle doctors and dentists who disagreed, smeared anti-fluoridators as crackpots and health faddists and trotted out makeshift evidence of its own (often in answer to questions that had not been asked) which has not stood up against investigation. To cite just one incident mentioned: The health department of one state issued a statement that a "careful examination" of 4,000 high school boys and Army selectees by "competent physicians" had discovered not "a single case" of bone fragility caused by fluoride. Dr. Exner points out that there is no way to detect bone fragility, short of breaking bones to determine the force required and then analyzing them for fluorine content. His investigation revealed that the "competent physicians" were one (1) biochemist, and the "careful examination" consisted of asking not all of the young men, but only three-quarters of them, how many bones they had broken.

The authors carefully avoid making any snap generalizations of their own on the dangers of fluoridation. But they present sufficient evidence to indicate there is a potential danger to the health of the nation in mass fluoridation of water and a present danger to certain individuals who because of age, malnutrition, kidney disease or unusual susceptibility to fluorine poisoning have already suffered from the experiment. The book avoids the exaggeration and hyperbole so often found in anti-fluoridation literature; and if it is at times somewhat technical, the case presented by Drs. Exner and Waldbott is so well reasoned that it should jar any anti-fluoridator foolish enough to pick it up out of his present euphoric "I-am-right, you-are-wrong" complacency.

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

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Scholar on Horseback

The Intellectual Development of John Milton: Vol. I, The Institution to 1625: From the Beginnings through Grammar School, by Harris Francis Fletcher. 469 pp. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press. $7.50

In very recent years, some valuable contributions to the study of liberal learning have been published in America. A number, like those of Dr. Arthur Bestor and Canon B. I. Bell and Mr. Mortimer Smith, have dealt with the theory and mechanics of sound instruction; others, like Professor Culler's *The Imperial Intellect,* have examined the thought of great educators. Professor Fletcher's big, handsome volume is an important work in this latter category. Dr. Fletcher, who has labored thirty years in the study of Milton, leaves to a forthcoming second volume the examination of Milton at Christ College, Cambridge; the present book is concerned with the boy Milton (as yet giving few indications of genius) under his tutors and at St. Paul's School.

This constitutes a most painstaking and ingenious task of historical and philosophical reconstruction; for, as Professor Fletcher writes, "At the end of the grammar school period, or in 1625, the figure of the young Milton is today elusive if not evasive. We possess not a word of any consequence from Milton himself on himself as a boy." The author is compelled, accordingly, to treat of Milton's tutors and of the course of studies Milton undertook. But this makes Mr. Fletcher's book all the more valuable: it becomes an analysis of formal education in seventeenth-century England, with some illuminating references to the ancient and medieval origins of that schooling.

The scholar on horseback: this was the concept governing that system of education, intended to unite Christian learning with the spirit of a gentleman. Such studies produced original minds and strong characters, and their theory and practice are by no means extinct today in English universities and American liberal-arts colleges. It was no mere genteel or superficial or dilettante approach: at a tender age, Milton was acquaint-

ed, for instance, with Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and perhaps Arabic. It included logic, rhetoric, ethics, philosophy, theology, music and mathematics. It also taught a young man to judge and to ride a horse; and what it is to be a man. It was an education fit for governors. It fitted a man to be a statesman or a poet, a priest or a magistrate.

We are afraid of real education nowadays, for genuine thinking is a painful process. And the statesmen and the poets of our century are shabby little figures by the side of the statesmen and the poets of the Century of Genius.

RUSSELL KIRK

Virtue and Witches

The Dark Stranger, by Dorothy Charques. 352 pp. New York: Coward-McCann. $3.95

Witches and witch hunters, Puritanism and debauchery, Cromwell's Roundheads and the King's cavaliers —it is into this tapestry of seventeenth-century England that Dorothy Charques has woven the life of young Elizabeth Devize. Measured by popular fictional standards, Elizabeth is unique, for she possesses virtue. But her path is not a smooth one. Caught in the crosscurrents of superstition and strife, torn between loyalty to her aunt, a Royalist and suspected sorceress whom she does not love, and Cromwell's admirable young Captain Swallow whom she does love, the girl very nearly loses her own life. The dark stranger who comes and goes in the night, working for the Royalists and presiding at witchcraft orgies, is a particular menace to Elizabeth, as is the self-appointed witch hunter who roams the countryside armed with his long brass pins.

Though it must be disappointing to modern Liberals, it is impossible to find in the monstrous, pin-pricking tester of witches, Master Hopkinson, any resemblance to Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The Dark Stranger is a competent historical novel, which furnishes a dramatic excursion into the turbulence of the Cromwell period.

FRANCES BECK

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

A Study of History, by Arnold J. Toynbee: Abridgement of Volumes VII-X, by D. C. Somervell. 414 pp. Oxford. $5.00

With the publication of the last four volumes of Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History,* it was inevitable that sooner or later Mr. Somervell would produce an extension of his "abridgement" of the earlier volumes. This second part of his abridgement, like the first, is an unmitigated disaster. Toynbee's virtue lies in his insights into concrete historical situations. There are times when, as in dealing with such problems as the development of Perso-Moslem civilization or the physiognomy of nomadic cultures, he shows positive genius. But his system as a whole is wooden, relativistic, and, in Dr. Karl Wittfogel's words, "morally paralyzing." It was Mr. Somervell's achievement, in the first volume of his abridgement, to eliminate all the insight and preserve only the system with its deadening futility. In the second volume his task was easier. In the last four volumes of Toynbee's study, the system has taken over and choked the insights. But, difficult or easy, Mr. Somervell responds nobly. Unless a fickle public has turned to Norman Vincent Peale, this second volume should bring Mr. Toynbee as much acclaim in the slicks and on the lecture platform as did the first.

The American Sex Revolution, by Pitirim A. Sorokin. 186 pp. Porter Sargent. $3.50; paper, $2.00.

Lèse majesté is normally punished by one form of extinction or another. Pitirim Sorokin, despite his great reputation as a sociologist and historian, has taken his life in his hands with this book. At a time when, from Mickey Spillane to the *American Sociological Review,* Sex is King, Dr. Sorokin has had the audacity to maintain that there are other things of somewhat greater importance in human life, and that our obsession with sex is uncomfortably paralleled in the last degenerate years of many a great civilization. His appeal for balance and sanity is as compelling as it is courageous.

A History of Soviet Russia, by Georg von Rauch. 493 pp. Praeger. $6.75

Despite the immense mass of material on Communism and the Soviets that has come forth in the past few years, nothing in the nature of a clear, well-organized history of the Soviet Union, from its origins in pre-revolutionary days to the present time, has hitherto appeared. Professor Von Rauch has most successfully filled this gap. He has a scholarly knowledge of his material; he knows how to crystallize it to make an effective single volume; and (a virtue rare indeed among specialists in Soviet studies) he has a firm grasp of the nature of Bolshevism.

Growth Toward Freedom, by William W. Biddle. 171 pp. Harper. $3.00

The college once existed to educate the young—that is, to bring to them the accumulated wisdom of the past and to teach them the skills wherewith to make use of that wisdom in present circumstances. Now, however, its function is "to be useful beyond the campus." Therefore, "it properly turns to community experts for guidance"—not to scholars. If you are interested in this new dispensation in the higher learning, *Growth Toward Freedom* is your *vade mecum.* If not, shun it like the plague. For it is, in fact, the plague—the plague that is reducing our education to moronity and social work.

Maya Art and Civilization, by Herbert Joseph Spinden. 432 pp. Falcon's Wing Press. $10.00

Dr. Spinden's material is magnificent. His presentation leaves almost everything to be desired. As an introduction to the great Maya civilization which flourished in the Central American area from the sixth century B.C. to the Spanish conquest, it is much inferior to J. Eric S. Thompson's recent volume, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization.* As a handbook of Maya art, however, as for its encyclopedic information on many and varied aspects of Maya culture, it rewards the mining reader.

(Reviewed by Frank S. Meyer)

To the Editor

Withering from Within

It seems to me that Frank Meyer makes one critical error in his very interesting discussion on the "Nature of the Enemy" [March 23]: failure to distinguish between Communism as a revolutionary movement *out of power*, and as a bureaucratic regime *in power*. We may certainly grant that the Communists, wherever they are out of power, are a dedicated revolutionary group, pledged to Marxism-Leninism. Otherwise, why become Communists? The situation inevitably changes, however, once a Communist regime is established and a one-party dictatorship forced upon a country. From that point on, there is only one way a man can rise above the slave level and make any sort of career for himself: to join the Communist Party.

This is particularly true for those interested in bureaucratic careers—and a Communist country, of course, is one vast bureaucracy. So we may confidently expect that, as time goes on, and the old revolutionary generation dies out, their successors will more and more be simple careerists, and not dedicated Communists at all. The fact that the new opportunists may pay lip-service to Communist ideals then becomes far less important. Careerists are notoriously indifferent to general principles, but they must keep *some* ideals around, to dupe everyone into believing that they are not simply brigands. So the Communist ideal, being ready at hand, will serve them as well as any. But the point is that the new opportunists do not *care* any more, and they will tend to worry far more about keeping their own power intact than promoting the proclaimed ideal of the World Revolution.

I am not expert enough to say how far this process has already gone in the Soviet Union. But it must, in the nature of things, be under way already, and its importance will grow as time goes on. If we realize this, and remember also that revolutionary inspiration has always, historically, died out after a time, even among those who continue to quote the writings of the Founders, we will see that time is on our side. And we will realize that we need not dig in for a long and bloody battle to the death with an enemy that is even now withering from within.

New York City MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

The President's Snub

The Little Man in the White House once more has demonstrated to all thinking people just how small, puerile and insignificant he really is. . . . I am referring to Eisenhower's childish snub of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and his charming wife.

Like any immature child, an emotionally immature adult might publicly insult a person whom he may not like. However, when the President of the United States behaves in such a manner at a social function which is financed by all Americans, he is guilty of the bad taste of insulting all voters in the State of Wisconsin. . . .

Gloucester, Mass. HAROLD R. COLLINS

Mr. Allen's Letter

Mr. Steve Allen's scintillating defense of his position on Miss Bergman's appearance on his program [April 6] needs no elaboration. It is not often that so prominent a public figure will call black, black and white, white (except, of course, in a case like this where everything seems to be gray. . .). Anyone who thinks Mr. Allen had Miss Bergman appear on his show because curiosity, morbid or otherwise, might enhance its rating just doesn't know the difference between five and six. . . .

Chatham, N.J. W. E. KIRKPATRICK

The Facts on Princeton

Re "The 'Unfastidious' Position of Harvard," [March 23]: Princeton University is in Princeton, N.J. So are a lot of other institutions of various sorts. That's Fact #1.

When speakers or writers mention the term "Princeton," as applied to an educational institution, almost everyone interprets the term to mean Princeton University. That's Fact #2.

But—a lot of things that happen in Princeton, N.J., have nothing to do with Princeton University. That's Fact #3.

So, if you don't mind, please don't let NATIONAL REVIEW fall into the same errors of careless reporting that seem to feature so many articles in recent years. For the edification of all concerned, both pros and antis, let's set the record straight:

The late Prof. Albert Einstein was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, located at Princeton, N.J. This is not . . . affiliated with Princeton University. Einstein was an Institute professor, not a "Princeton" professor.

Alger Hiss was invited to speak on the Princeton campus by Whig-Clio, an undergraduate debating society. He was not invited by Princeton University, the Trustees and Administration of which disapproved of the invitation but declined to forbid the undergraduates to hear Hiss. Hiss was not invited by "Princeton."

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer is director of the Institute for Advanced Study, located in Princeton, N.J. As stated above, this is not affiliated with Princeton University. Oppenheimer is connected with the Institute, not with "Princeton."

NATIONAL REVIEW's persistent devotion to the facts in its reporting of political events leads me to suggest that you get in step with yourselves on this one.

Roslyn, N.Y. THEODORE M. BLACK

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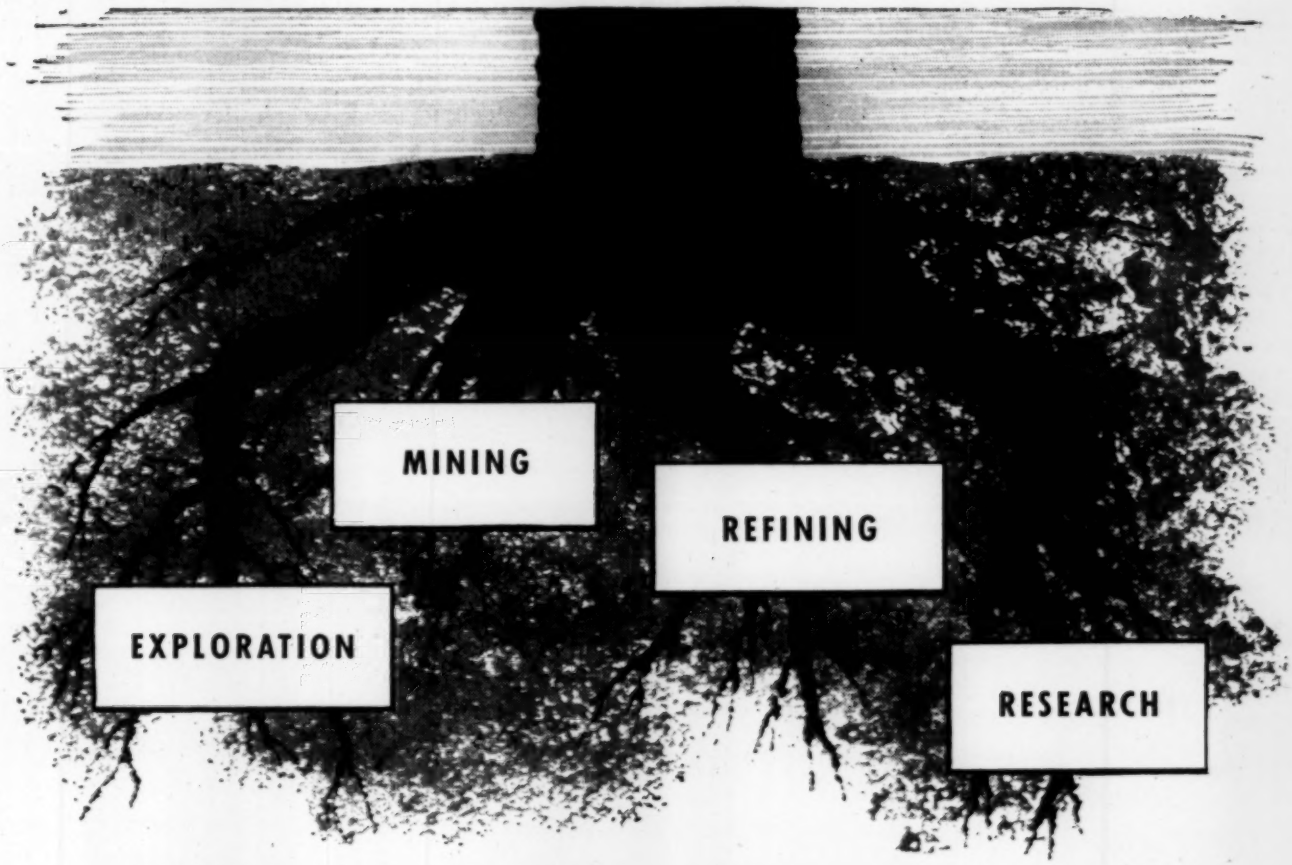

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